1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
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lord of many segments superior to his own and that at least part of these superior segments came with him on the migration.

Within segment 1, Zwangendaba established inferior segment 18 (Emveyeyeni or Mveleleni) for his great wife. This segment or part of it was subsequently annihilated and for that reason its relationship to later segments is obscure; I have not been able to place it on Diagram 1. Three of Zwangendaba's younger brothers founded segments 5, 6 and 7 (Kunyeni, Nyungweni and Engwenyameni) within segment 1. Zwangendaba formed two subsidiary bevies of wives and made segments 3 and 2 (Ekwendeni and Emcisweni)[18] for them, presumably inferior to segment 18. Another bevy of wives with their own segment 19 (Emsizini) is mentioned by Chibambo and Rangeley, but its relation to other segments is not recorded. It seems probable that segment 19, like segments 2 and 3, was inferior to the ill-fated segment 18.

There was a practice among the Ngoni whereby some of the co-wives in a bevy were grouped into *linked* pairs or trios. If a wife was barren or old or if her parents wished to honour her husband, she was given an agnatic kinswoman as her junior linked co-wife. Children born by the junior wife then ranked as if they had been borne by her linked senior.[19] Zwangendaba's great wife, the lady of segment 18, was barren but she had a junior linked co-wife who became pregnant. During her pregnancy an incident occurred of historical importance. It was, and still is, customary to offer beer to the Paramount Chief whenever it is brewed in the headquarters of important segments. During this wife's pregnancy beer brewed in the headquarters of segment 18 was offered to Zwangendaba. He thought that the beer was doctored or had filth in it and assumed that there was a plot to kill him. He sent warriors to destroy the headquarters of the segment, which thus disappeared as a political unit. However some of the probable constituent

[18] Rangeley, 'Mtwalo', p. 58, records an alternative tradition that the lady of segment 3 was the first woman to be made great wife, and that she was later demoted in favour of the lady of segment 18.

[19] See my *Marriage*, pp. 4, 6, 34, 94.

Notes 1

(a) Ancestor of present Chief Mlonyeni, Fort Manning Division.
(b) Ancestor of former Chief Mlonyeni and present Chief Teleka, Fort Jameson District.
(c) Not an ancestor of present Chief Misholo, who belongs to segment 11.
(d) Not to be confused with a segment of the same name formed by Chief Mpezeni III in 1948.
(e) Not shown on Diagram 10.

1 [see table on page 14.—Analyst]

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
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sanctions were less effective than they are in more homogeneous societies; but this can hardly be proved. The fact remains that some segments did break off, that the State attempted to annihilate them, and that sometimes they were successful, probably sometimes not. The transition was sharp between the condition in which a segment was an integral loyal part of the State and that in which it was itself a new State. Spatially a State was surrounded by a no-man's-land. Everything inside the uninhabited ring of country was in the State, everything outside it was not. Within the State there was no feuding such as sometimes characterizes societies whose political boundaries are not uniquely defined. In Ngoni society, murder was punished by the State, and the cattle paid by the murderer's kin were handed over to the Paramount Chief, not to the kin of the murdered man. The Paramount Chief, it is true, usually handed on the cattle to them, but the method of settlement is indicative of the power of the State. There was only one national first fruits ceremony, accompanied by summary penalties of death for those whose actions threatened its mystical effectiveness, as for example by singing the ceremonial songs at the wrong time. Furthermore, there was a single age-set system, in which the members of each set were drawn from all segments, and because of the activities of the sets, the segments united in aggression against the external world.

When a split threatened, the issue was decided by force of arms. Yet in a quite significant sense the cohesion of the State was not based on force at all. The Paramount Chief had no monopoly of force, for as we have seen there were representatives of every major segment in each age-set, and any lord who could claim the loyal support of his segment had at his disposal a fighting force as efficient as that of anyone else. Within the army there was little or no technical, as distinct from tactical, specialization and the Paramount Chief had no bodyguard or other specially recruited force on which he could rely. The Ngoni were contemptuous of guns, for the Tower muskets used by the Arabs and others could not penetrate their shields at normal firing range, and such guns as the Ngoni possessed were used only for making a noise.[45] There was no strong central power posed against the provincial lords, as in some societies. The strength of any segment was measured by its internal cohesion, its size and fighting ability, as matched against the cohesion, size and ability of the forces that could be marshalled against it. While he was loyal, expansion in a man's segment

[45] Wiese, 'Expedição', p. 477, and 'Geschichte', p. 196; Read, 'Tradition', p. 461, f.n1; Young, *History*, p. 125.

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
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they might give their support to the enforcement of law. Murder has always been a public delict in Ngoni society and before the conquest, a murderer was usually tried by senior lieutenants at the headquarters of either segment 4 or 10 and if found guilty was executed by the first lieutenant of the segment. Ngoni still think that murderers ought to be brought to justice, but the investigation of murder, a matter for the Northern Rhodesia Police, is likely to be obstructed even though the investigation may be carried out entirely by Africans. Those affected by the murder wish to see the murderer punished, but they also want to keep clear of the legal process involved.

10. *External links*

The death of Zwangendaba was followed by a dispersal of Ngoni groups into various parts of east and central Africa. The present dispersal of Ngoni men and women from Fort Jameson over southern Africa arises from a different social situation and takes place in a different way. The early mining enterprises of Southern Rhodesia, like those in the Union of South Africa before them, were based on migratory labour. As we have noted, Ngoni began going to Southern Rhodesia only a few months after they had been conquered, and they have continued to go ever since. Although the first batch of migrants were apparently ordered to go by someone in authority, the great bulk of men who have gone away subsequently have gone as individuals, even if they were recruited in batches of a hundred or more at a time. Thus, the dispersal of population is not directly related to the political system of the tribe, as was the pre-conquest dispersal. There has been a certain amount of regional preference, one county supplying more than its share of migrants to the Northern Rhodesia Copperbelt, the Nyasaland counties supplying proportionately more migrants to the Union as compared with the Northern Rhodesia counties, and so on, but these preferences are not marked. The inhabitants of each county, and indeed of nearly every village, have kinsfolk who are scattered over the towns and farms of the Rhodesias, Nyasaland, the Transvaal and farther south.

Ngoni men and women are thus bound by many ties to other persons and groups located far away from the villages of Ngoniland. For the most part these ties bind individuals, for each person has distant attachments which are not the same as his neighbours. In this volume we are concerned primarily with politics, with social relations between enduring groups, and we shall reserve our discussion of the social implications of migration for a later work in

and appeals were uncommon. Chiefs did not allow a man to come by himself with his case to them, he had to come with his headman. Even those in danger of death went first to the headmen and these brought them to the chiefs. 692

The Ngoni hated bribes. If any *induna* was found to have taken bribes from people he was condemned and punished. [687]

The hearing of the cases was like what it is today. The one who brought the case to the court spoke first, then the one with whom he was quarrelling. If there were elders there from their village they also spoke telling out how these people quarrelled, saying so-and-so began to quarrel in such-and-such a way, and then showed how they had been unable to judge it in the village. They did not go into details of the quarrel, that was done by the men themselves. After those who had quarrelled had told of the beginning of the case any who knew of it were asked to say how it appeared to them in the village. These were the witnesses both for and against. 695

When this had been done, all who were implicated or interested in the case remained silent. It is the custom of the Ngoni that all who spoke in a case should stand and have a stick, and as they spoke they should walk about and limp with the stick or sometimes stand all together, but in that case the hand which held the stick should shake and stick it into the ground. Only women spoke seated. No one at the hearing of a case was allowed to lie down, everyone, even the Paramount, sat. They did this because they were afraid that otherwise the case would not finish quickly. The court was held in the cattle kraal. Women were not allowed into the kraal for cases, but sat outside opposite where the old men were gathered, even though they were the wives of the Paramount. 695 516

After the litigants and the witnesses had spoken it was the turn of the elders of the court. They questioned and agreed with or criticized the men who had quarrelled but they did not pronounce judgement. They waited for the Paramount who first of all sat silent and noticed those who unravelled or twisted the case. Afterwards when the people had finished speaking, the elders delivered the story to the Paramount or judge. The judge then delivered his judgement and condemned those who had twisted the case. He delivered his judgement sitting not standing like the other people and when he had finished all thanked him, or rather saluted him with a loud '*Bayete*' or with the surname if to lesser chiefs. Sometimes he sent an elder to tell the court the judgement. When the case had been judged no one criticized the judgement. The one who began to give thanks for the judgement was the one who was found guilty: this he did to show submission and repentance. The custom of today that the one who wins the case gives the thanks is not good because the man who has lost goes away in resentment and threatening and often the case crops up again. 695 [576]

If an *induna* or man of standing went secretly to the Paramount to accuse somebody that he deserved death (perhaps for witchcraft), very often the Paramount sent a man in secret to warn the condemned man to run to a chief's village and hide his head. In this way many left their fathers and went to build with the chiefs and when they went they took all their things 643 682 692

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
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643 all their things. Even when the Paramount agreed that a man should be
682 killed he ordered that all his possessions were to come to him, stock, slaves, wives and children. These were called *izizi zenkosi*, the things of the Paramount, and they were divided among the houses of the Paramount, and the master of the man killed got nothing. This was done to teach the fathers of the villages that they should not sentence their people to death because they coveted their goods or people. The Paramount taught them by taking all the belongings of the one killed and they got nothing. Of course the Paramount's and chiefs' villages grew quickly in
684 this way. At the beginning the punishment for adultery and murder was
178 death; in adultery both the man and the woman were killed. Beginning from the time of Mbelwa and Mtwalo the penalty for adultery has been changed. The man who did it was despoiled of his goods or paid compensation. The courts agreed that any man wronged by such adultery could go with a war-party to the village of the guilty man and take what he wanted, but not kill any person. The Paramount took no notice of such an affair.

671 No account of the conduct of cases in Ngoni courts would be complete without reference to the popular interest in and support for the law. After a day in the courts the *izinduna* and the *amadoda* talked of almost nothing else. They went over and over the details of the cases, and recalled former cases of a similar kind and compared the judgements given. They criticized each other sharply for the handling of cases, and such criticism was taken well on the whole, as a contribution to the process of interpreting and enforcing the law rather than as a personal affront. The attendance of the public at the court sessions was encouraged so long as they observed due decorum. When talking broke out among the onlookers, the *induna* in charge bellowed 'Silence' in a voice of thunder. If a group of women continued to chatter and giggle after the *induna* had called for silence, he told them to go home. The
[857] interest in courts and cases extended to the play of children and to the conduct by the boys of their own affairs in the *laweni* or boys' dormitory. I often saw the young son of a chief or *induna* organizing his playmates into a court and allocating roles to them and in his play imitating the voice and gestures of his father.

631 NGONI OFFICE-BEARERS

622 In Chapter II of Part I we stated that the main element in the Ngoni
645 political system in the 1930's was a ruling aristocracy supported by a
[565] hierarchy of officials. In this chapter we shall first look at two texts, one by Cibambo on the northern kingdom and the other by a big *induna* in the central kingdom, explaining the relationship of the different office-bearers to the Paramount. We shall see how there were in effect two groups of office-bearers, one related to the territorial divisions of the kingdoms, and the other consisting of state or national officials and those connected with the royal village. There was no set of terms which could